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The Subtlety of White Racism: Helping Behavior
and Stereotyping by Whites Toward Black and
White Supervisors and Subordinates

John F. Dovidio

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July, 1977

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20. Abstract

→ superior roles, whereas whites responded positively to blacks assuming traditional subordinate and dependent roles.

In addition, on an absolute scale white subjects were willing to evaluate blacks, particularly high ability blacks, quite positively. However, when the relative scores (Partner-Rating minus Self-Rating on identical traits) were employed, black partners were rated less favorably than were white partners. In addition, although subjects would rate high ability white partners as more intelligent and describe them more favorably than themselves, they described high ability blacks as significantly lower in intelligence than themselves and evaluated them less positively. Therefore, it appears that subjects were quite unwilling to subordinate themselves to a black in any way. Consequently, the extent to which a situation allows reaffirmation or contradiction of stereotypic role relationships may be a critical determinant of interracial interaction.

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INTRODUCTION

Given 200 years of cultural, institutional, and individual racism, white America is apparently accustomed to the dependency, subordination, and assumed inferiority of blacks. Further, large scale attempts to remedy the consequences of racism have, by and large, perpetuated this dependency and subordination. Thus, it appears that whites may resist situations that subordinate them to blacks. For example, blacks may be readily accepted as janitors or maids, but may be responded to negatively if they assume a position of relative power. Therefore, this research investigates whites' reactions to black and white supervisors and subordinates in a situation in which subsequent interaction was unavoidable.

Recently, affirmative action as well as less formal pressure for change seem to have initiated black-white relationships which may not be bound by traditional stereotypic role expectations. Increasingly, whites may find themselves in job, school, or other situations in which they are subordinate to blacks who may or may not possess greater competence than themselves. Since it is

believed that one of the major causes of individual racism is related to needs for self-esteem and relative status (Aronson, 1972), any attempts to reverse stereotypic role relationships would present a severe threat to many whites, who then would be expected to respond negatively.

For example, several researchers have recently suggested (Campbell, 1967; Feather, 1971) that stereotypes are not simply negative descriptions of an identifiable group, but they also guide and limit types of intergroup interactions. Feather (1971) conceptualizes stereotypes as abstract cognitive structures that develop as an individual attempts actively to process vast quantities of information from the external world. Furthermore, Feather suggests that "these abstract structures must be organized and relatively stable to provide continuity and meaning under changing circumstances" (p.356). Thus, when an individual encounters information discrepant with the stereotype, he/she makes adjustments to restore balance.

Indeed, research in sex-roles indicates that stereotypic expectations affect both evaluation and behavior. In three recent studies, men were more highly evaluated than women for writing journal articles

(Goldberg, 1968), for artistic painting (Pheterson, Kiesler, and Goldberg, 1971), and for pursuing a career in medicine (Feldman and Kiesler, 1974). These findings are consistent with cultural expectations that men make better writers, artists, and doctors than do women. In addition, one study in this area by Harris and Bays (1973) further indicates that stereotypes may influence prosocial interaction. Harris found that females dressed in a feminine manner were more likely to receive help than when dressed in a more masculine way.

It appears, then, that when individuals are confronted with situations that are discrepant with their stereotypic expectations, they tend to distort the information to make it more consistent with their expectations. In addition, if the situation is not only inconsistent with expectations, but is also threatening, individuals may be expected to respond negatively. Thus, whites may respond negatively to blacks who assume a non-traditional role relationship. On the other hand, whites interacting with black subordinates may be expected to respond initially quite favorably to this relationship since it serves to reinforce previous relative status beliefs. In support of this notion, Hagen and Kahn (1975) found that male subjects responded more favorably to a competent

male interactant than they did to a competent female interactant. However, males also responded more favorably to an incompetent female than they did to an incompetent male. That is, females were responded to more favorably when they behaved in a manner more consistent with the feminine stereotype.

A purpose of the present study, then, is to investigate the manner in which whites initially confront non-traditional and traditional role relationships and stereotypic and nonstereotypic characteristics of black supervisors and subordinates. In the present experiment, white male subjects will be introduced to a male confederate who will be either black or white and will be described as being higher or lower than the subject in abstract cognitive ability, an "intellectual capacity" the experimenter presents as related to the experimental task. In addition, the subject will be led to believe that the confederate will serve as the subject's supervisor or subordinate on a series of tasks related to abstract reasoning. Thus, the characteristics of the confederates and the situation have direct implication for the participants.

It is hypothesized by Feather (1971) that when a subject is confronted with a situation that violates stereotypic expectations he will be motivated to make

cognitive and, if necessary, behavioral adjustments to restore balance. Within the present experimental context, therefore, three sets of hypotheses are advanced. The first set concerns the pattern of responses for subjects with black partners, the second set of predictions involves subjects' reactions to white partners differing in ability, and the third set is associated with whites' reactions to "legitimate" black and white supervisors and subordinates. This last series of hypotheses concerns subjects with supervisors who are of higher ability than themselves or with subordinates who are lower in ability. No predictions are advanced for subjects in the inconsistent role and ability conditions. One interesting comparison, though, will be between subjects' reactions to black and white low ability supervisors. Black, low ability supervisors may be responded to with greater reactance than similar whites. However, with the advent of affirmative action programs, subjects may be more likely to expect this situation when it involves a black partner. Thus, their response may be less negative toward the black than toward the white partner.

In general, the pattern of results due to the ability and the role of the partner is expected to be quite different for subjects with the black partner than

for subjects with the white partner. In particular, the first set of predictions suggests that black partners introduced as being high in cognitive ability will be evaluated less positively than comparable white partners due to the inconsistency with stereotypic expectations. Furthermore, when confronted with a black who is introduced as being higher in cognitive ability than themselves, subjects may be likely to disregard or distort this stereotypic discrepant, and potentially, threatening information. In addition, as suggested by Feather (1971) when the stereotypic-discrepant information is particularly threatening and not susceptible to cognitive distortion, individuals are likely to avoid involvement. Thus, in the present study in which the role structure is dictated by the experimenter and cannot be modified by the subject, it is expected that subjects will avoid prosocial involvement with black supervisors relative to their interaction with black subordinates. Thus, for subjects with black partners a main effect for partner's role is predicted.

The second set of predictions involves only those subjects with a white partner. For subjects with the white partner, a pattern of results different from the pattern with black partners is hypothesized, although

the theorized process is dynamically similar. Instead of race being a salient dimension generating expectations for the interaction, the congruence of the partner's role and the partner's ability will be the critical factor influencing subjects' responses. Within the present experimental context, subjects will be introduced to white supervisors or subordinates who are either higher or lower in ability than themselves. Thus, imbalance, or perceived inconsistency may arise when the supervisor-partner is lower in ability than the subject or when the subordinate-partner is higher in ability. Consequently, when the imbalance discriminates against the subject a negative orientation toward the partner may result; however, when the imbalance favors the subject, the individual may be motivated to behave in a positive manner to the partner in order to restore balance.

Indeed, Pepitone (1971) found that subjects participating in Prisoner Dilemma games behaved consistent with this notion of imbalance or "distributive justice" (Homans, 1961) in their profit maximizing choices. Imbalance was produced by the distribution of rewards that were either consistent or inconsistent with relative merit. The results indicated that low ability subjects who were rewarded (an imbalance favoring the subject) exhibited more

altruistic choice behaviors than did high ability rewarded subjects. In addition, high ability subjects who were not rewarded (an imbalance discriminating against the subject) exhibited more competitive choices than did low merit, nonrewarded subjects. This pattern of results, then, suggests that subjects do make appropriate behavioral adjustments to restore balance or justice.

In the present study, it is hypothesized for subjects with the white partner that high ability supervisors will be helped more than will low ability supervisors, and high ability subordinates will be helped more than low ability subordinates. Thus, for subjects with the white partner, a main effect for cognitive ability is predicted. A similar pattern of results is predicted for subjects' evaluations of their partners.

Finally, if race is indeed an important factor mediating subjects' responses, then subjects should react quite differently to "legitimate" (i.e. relative ability consonant with assigned role) black and white supervisors and subordinates. Thus, this third set of predictions concerns only those subjects with higher ability supervisors and lower ability subordinates. Given the findings of Hagen and Kahn (1975), cited earlier, as well as the apparent threat engendered by reversing the traditional

role relationship that has characterized black-white interactions, it is expected that in a situation employing helping behavior as an indicator of prosocial orientation, white subjects would respond less favorably to black than to white supervisors, even if the supervisor is described as being higher in ability than the subject. Furthermore, whites would be expected to respond more favorably to black than to white subordinates, since this situation may reinforce traditional role expectations. Thus, for subjects in these status-ability consistent conditions, a race by role interaction is hypothesized.

In addition, all participants in the present study will be asked to volunteer additional time with the same partner at a later date and in the same role relationship. Since no compensation was offered, so subjects could readily refuse without threatening an egalitarian self-image, it was also predicted that subjects with the black partner would be less willing to get further involved than would subjects with the white partner.

METHOD

Subjects

Ninety-six white, male subjects who were enrolled in introductory psychology classes at the University of Delaware were selected to participate in the study. All subjects were administered a 20-item California F test and an 11-item Likert format questionnaire regarding attitudes toward blacks at least two weeks prior to their participation. This scale for assessing prejudice attitudes correlates highly ($r=+.83$) with three subscales of the Woodmansee and Cook (1967) scale: (1) ease of interracial contacts, (2) subtle derogatory beliefs, and (3) private rights. As a separate and additional item, subjects were asked from 1=disagree strongly to 5=agree strongly their response to the statement, "I am prejudiced against blacks."

Design

The present experiment employs a 2x2x2x2 factorial design. One factor manipulated includes the race of the confederate partner, either black or white. In addition, the confederate was selected as a supervisor or worker on the subsequent tasks. The subject occupied the

complementary role. As a third independent variable, the confederate was presented as being very high or very low in abstract cognitive ability, a capacity related to the performance of the subsequent tasks. Subjects were always informed that they scored average. As a final factor, subjects were divided by a median split on the distribution of scores on the 11-item prejudice test as high or low prejudice. These four factors combined factorially and resulted in a 16-cell design.

Procedure

All subjects were contacted to participate in the "Super" study and no information concerning the study was given prior to participation. The subject was told to wait in a hallway until the experimenter arrived and gave him more detail. When the experimenter entered the hallway he would find the subject and one of four confederates (two white and two black) waiting to begin. The confederates were instructed to limit interaction with the subject, but without appearing rude or impolite. After greeting both "subjects" the experimenter escorted both of them to a cubicle around the corner.

Upon entering the cubicle, the subject and confederate were asked to take a seat behind a table (confederates were previously instructed to sit in a

designated chair). On the table were several objects including a slide tray box, several letter cards and a container containing 75 pencils. The experimenter then explained, as a cover story, that the purpose of the study was to investigate the effects of intellectual composition and group structure on group performance. The group tasks, subjects were told, were related to abstract cognitive intelligence, an ability on which subjects (supposedly) were tested previously. Consequently, it was explained to subjects that one goal of the experiment was to explore how different combinations of high, moderate, and low ability individuals would perform together. As another part of the cover story, subjects were also told that in order to study the effects of group structure, some pairs would consist of equal status members while other groups would have one member designated as a superior and the other assigned to be a subordinate.

The experimenter then asked the subject and the confederate to complete a certificate of informed consent to indicate that they were willing to participate. After they had completed the form, the experimenter then administered a 10-item word analogy test described as being "a shortened version of the abstract cognitive ability test that we are checking out to compare with the other,

longer form completed at the beginning of the year." The confederate was then taken to another room to work on the test, while the subject remained to work in the experimental room. This provided the experimenter with an opportunity to present the manipulation of the confederate's ability and role to the subject while keeping the confederate blind.

Five minutes after the experimenter escorted the confederate to the other cubicle, the experimenter returned and presented the subject with the manipulation:

Excuse me. Let me interrupt you for just a second. As I just told the other subject, for much of the remainder of the study you will hear your group referred to as a high (or low) moderate group. Let me explain what that means. That means that one member in your group scored in the top (or bottom) 20% on the abstract cognitive ability test--very high (or low) in this type of ability, while the other member scored in the middle 20%--moderate in this cognitive ability. You are _____? You scored in the moderate range and your partner, Henry, scored in the high (or low) range in this test. In addition, for the remainder of the tasks you'll be working on together I'd like you to be the supervisor (or worker) and your partner to be the worker (or supervisor). If you have any questions, I'll give a little more explanation in a few minutes.

The experimenter then left the room while the subject completed his cognitive ability form to retrieve the confederate. All confederates were informed that they would be presented as either high, moderate, or low in

ability as would the subject. In reality, though, subjects were always told that they were moderate and that the confederate was either high or low. The selection of subject as worker or supervisor was done randomly and crossed the race and cognitive ability conditions.

When the experimenter returned with the confederate, he collected the abstract cognitive ability form and asked the subject and the confederate to listen to a tape recorded summary of the procedure. In addition, these instructions informed the subject and the confederate that one person would be a supervisor and the other a subordinate. Also, the tape revealed that one person had scored very high or low in abstract intelligence, while the other had scored about average. Since the subject had previously been assigned a role and had been told that he had scored average, the tape simply presented redundant information. However, since the instructions did not specify who would perform the supervisory role or who had scored about average, the confederate remained uninformed about his condition. Finally, the tape-recorded instructions explained that the group would be participating in a variety of tasks (form-fitting, decision-making, problem-solving) and their performance would be compared to the performance of other groups.

After answering any questions that the subject posed, the experimenter then explained that he had to go to another room down the hall for "five or ten minutes," to prepare the apparatus. Before leaving, however, he asked subjects to complete a background information form and a subject participation form (see Appendix) while he was gone. The experimenter then left, shutting the door firmly behind him.

In the cubicle the confederate completed his forms very slowly while discretely observing the subject. After the subject completed the background information form and began the subject receipt form, the confederate, reaching to replace his pencil, "accidentally" knocked the container and the entire contents of pencils to the floor. He then leaned over the table, mumbled, and proceeded around the table to pick up the pencils. All four confederates had been previously trained in this procedure and picked up the pencils at a constant rate that would have enabled him to pick them all up, unassisted, in 90 seconds. If the subject did help, confederates gave an appreciative nod.

Three and one-half minutes after he heard the pencils fall, the experimenter reentered the room. He explained that the next step was to have subjects perform

a task alone, form-fitting, to obtain a baseline performance measure. To "save time," the subject was directed to an assistant who subsequently administered the task and conducted the interview and debriefing phases of the study.

After directing the subject to the assistant in another cubicle, the experimenter returned to the experimental room and had the confederate record whether or not the subject helped and how many pencils the subject helped to pick up. While picking up the pencils the confederate kept count and, once collected, he put them in a pile on the table after the subject had returned his to the container. The confederate also attempted to predict what his role was and what his level of cognitive ability was. As an incentive for accuracy, the confederate with the highest number of correct assessments would be rewarded with \$10.00 at the completion of the study.

When the subject entered the cubicle he was seated at a table with a female assistant who began the second phase of the study, the interview. "Since the study requires close interaction with a partner, we would like you to describe your partner before you begin the tasks." In order to do this, the subject was given a form containing

26 adjective pair items in a six point semantic differential format (see Appendix) and given instructions in its use. After the subject had completed his description of his partner, the assistant then gave him another semantic differential and asked him to describe himself. The subject always described his partner first and himself second.

Once the semantic differential tasks were completed, the assistant described the "baseline performance" task in which subjects were to fit as many different forms in their appropriate holes in a cube as possible in one minute. The number of forms the subject achieved was then announced and recorded. Since no norms of performance for this task were given, subjects were asked how well they thought they did compared to other people on a seven point scale from 1=poor to 7=excellent. Subjects were then asked how many forms they thought their partner accomplished, and compared to other people, how well the partner did. Finally, subjects were reminded that their group would be performing a variety of tasks and that their performance would be compared to the performance of other groups. Subjects were then asked that if 100 groups were run, for how many groups did they think their group's performance would be superior. These questions provided an opportunity to assess the efficacy of the manipulation of the confederate's cognitive ability.

As another dependent measure, subjects were told that the experimenter needed several groups to come back for additional time but that no additional participation credit could be given. Furthermore, it was made clear that subjects who did volunteer to come back would be participating with the same subject in the same structure. Subjects were then asked if, under these conditions, they were willing to volunteer more time and, if so, how much more. Also, those subjects who did volunteer additional time were asked to list the times during the week in which they were potentially available for participation.

The final phase of the interview consisted of additional questions concerning their partner "before they began the group tasks." Subjects were given the opportunity to estimate how friendly they thought they would be in a year's time with their partner if they were roommates from 1=not at all to 7=very. In addition, subjects who were assigned the role of supervisor rated what kind of worker they thought their partner would be (1=very poor to 7=very good) and how cooperative they thought he would be (1=not at all to 7=very). Subjects who were designated to be workers estimated the effectiveness of their supervisor partner (1=poor to 7=very effective) and how much power he would attempt to exert

(1=none to 7=very much). At the conclusion of this interview phase, the assistant questioned the subject concerning his and his partner's score on the abstract cognitive ability test and their assigned roles for the subsequent tasks. In addition, subjects were asked, "How did you feel about the division of labor? In particular, what was your first reaction?" Responses to this query were then recorded.

A debriefing phase was included to, first of all, assess the suspiciousness of the subject and, secondly, to explain the true purpose of the investigation. In an attempt to determine if subjects were aware of the hypothesis under investigation and did not believe the cover story, subjects were asked in a series of questions concerning (a) their understanding of what they would do next, (b) if they could briefly describe the procedure, (c) if there was anything unusual about the way the study was conducted, and (d) what they would say if they were told that they had nothing more to do and would still receive credit. The debriefing then attempted to pursue any suspicions they expressed, and then to evaluate the suspiciousness of the subject.

The second part of debriefing was concerned with informing the subject about the true nature of the

experiment. All subjects were informed that their partner was indeed a confederate of the experimenter and the pencil accident was planned as part of the experiment. Furthermore, it was emphasized that no test of abstract cognitive ability was ever administered and that their score could not reflect their actual abilities. In addition, it was explained that the assignment to the role of supervisor or worker was random and done to investigate the effects of congruence or incongruence of their expectations on their subsequent behavior. At no point in the debriefing were subjects confronted with any threat that their actions may be related to any type of racial prejudice. Subjects who were interested in more detail about the study, or in its results, were invited to return at the end of the semester.

RESULTS

Preliminary Analyses and Checks on the Independent Manipulations.

Although during the study efforts were made to ensure that the confederates were blind to the experimental manipulation, analyses were conducted to determine if these procedures were successful. At the conclusion of the study, the four confederates were asked to identify the hypotheses under investigation. All confederates posited that black partners were expected to receive less help than white partners. (Actually, the results indicated that black partners were helped more than white partners.) No one suggested the predicted interactions for race and role and ability.

In addition, immediately after each subject, the confederate attempted to assess his assigned role and ability, and the subject's ability description. A \$10.00 incentive was employed to encourage each confederate to be the most accurate at the end of the study. Analyses of these responses demonstrated the effectiveness of the

strategy to keep the confederate blind to the experimental condition. There was no relationship between the role the confederate believed he occupied and the role he was actually assigned ($\chi^2(1)=0.668$, $p<.35$). In addition, the confederate accurately identified his designated level of cognitive ability only 23% of the time, less than the 33% level represented by random guessing if they believed that they could be either high, moderate, or low ($\chi^2(1)=3.80$, $p<.06$). In general, confederates were able to precisely identify the nature of the experimental condition on 11.3% of the trials. If, however, confederates optimally employed the information available to them on the tape recorded introduction, their rate of guessing should have been at 25%, which is higher than their actual performance ($\chi^2(1)=9.39$, $p<.01$). Thus, it appears that the confederates, even with a cash incentive, were essentially blind to the experimental manipulations of designated supervisor-worker role and described levels of cognitive ability.

During debriefing, all subjects related, without error, who would occupy the supervisor and worker roles for the subsequent tasks. In addition, all subjects accurately reported the percentile rank (top, middle, or bottom 20%) on the abstract cognitive ability test both the subject and the confederate "obtained."

The efficacy of the manipulation of the confederate's intellectual ability was further demonstrated in subjects' ratings and expectations concerning their partner. After performing the form-fitting task, subjects were asked to rate their partner, the confederate, on a seven point scale concerning how well they thought he would do and to estimate how many blocks he would achieve. On a subsequent six point semantic differential scale subjects were also asked to describe their partner from unintelligent to intelligent. As illustrated in Table 1, the results indicated that confederates described as scoring high in abstract cognitive ability as compared to those presented as scoring low were expected to rate higher on the form-fitting task, were predicted to succeed in fitting more blocks, and were described as being more intelligent. In addition, subjects with a high scoring partner predicted that, over all the subsequent tasks, their dyad would do better than 60.94% of all other groups while a subject with a low scoring partner predicted performance superior to 49.73% of other groups. This difference was highly significant ($F(1,80) 17.85, p < .0001$).

The efficacy of the ability manipulation was further evidenced by subjects' ratings of their partner in relation to their self-ratings (see Table 1). These results also

TABLE 1

Subjects' evaluations of high and low cognitive ability partners.

	High Cognitive Ability Partner	Low Cognitive Ability Partner	p<
Estimated number of forms the partner achieved	11.46	9.65	.0030
Rating of partner's estimated performance	4.75	3.75	.0001
Rating of partner's intelligence	4.35	3.50	.0001
Estimated number of forms the partner achieved relative to the subject's own performance*	+0.63	-1.29	.0001
Rating of partner's performance relative to self rating*	+0.42	-0.43	.0004

*indicates an estimate of the partner's performance in relation to the performance of the subject: A positive score represents an estimated rating that is superior to the subject's; a negative score indicates expected performance that is inferior to the subject's.

demonstrate that subjects described as high in abstract cognitive ability are expected to rate better and score higher on the form-fitting task, relative to the subject's performance, than are partners presented as being low in ability.

To assess feelings of equity or unfairness, subjects were asked how they felt about the division of labor for the tasks to follow the interview. To evaluate the perceived fairness of the experimental conditions, four judges, two males and two females, independently rated the subjects' verbal responses on a fairness (1) to unfairness (5) dimension with a neutral midpoint (see Appendix for details). The interrater correlations ranged from +.83 to +.88 with a mean of +.86. Furthermore, the four raters were in unanimous agreement on the precise scale value assigned 44% of the time and in 75% agreement 78% of the time. At least two raters were in agreement on the exact score assigned 100% of the time.

For subsequent analyses, the mean rating for each subject was employed. As expected, subjects in the consistent (supervisor-high ability and worker-low ability) conditions reported the situation to be more fair than did subjects in the inconsistent (supervisor-low ability and worker-high ability) conditions ($X=2.16$ vs. 3.13 , $t(94)=3.91$, $p<.01$). In addition, although there was no

difference in the fairness ratings between subjects in the supervisor-high ability and worker-low ability conditions ($X=2.15$ vs. 2.18), subjects verbalized the unfairness of the situation more when they were supervisor over a worker of higher cognitive ability than when they were subordinate to a supervisor of lower ability ($X=3.61$ vs. 2.64 , $t(46)=2.92$, $p<.01$).

Behavioral Responses: Helping and Volunteering

Preliminary analyses of variance for subjects with a black partner and for subjects with a white partner revealed no systematic effects for the particular confederate employed on either the measure of helping, volunteering responses, or the semantic differential descriptions. Consequently, this factor was not included in subsequent analyses.

A 2 (Race of confederate) x2 (Confederate role) x2 (Confederate ability) x2 (Prejudice score of subject) multivariate analysis was performed on whether or not subjects helped and the number of pencils that the subject picked up. The frequencies of helping and the mean number of pencils associated with this analysis, collapsed across prejudice score, are presented in Table 2. This analysis demonstrated that black confederates were helped more than white confederates (Multivariate $F(2,79)=2.91$, $p=.06$).

TABLE 2

The effects of the race, the role, and the described ability of the partner on subjects' helping behavior and volunteering responses.

	<u>N</u>	<u>Percent Help</u>	<u>Mean Pencils Helped</u>	<u>Mean Hours Volunteered</u>
<u>White Partner</u>				
Confederate Supervisor				
High Ability	12	75.0%	27.8	1.08
Low Ability	12	33.3%	14.4	0.92
Confederate Worker				
High Ability	12	58.3%	21.3	1.17
Low Ability	12	25.0%	10.0	1.00
<u>Black Partner</u>				
Confederate Supervisor				
High Ability	12	58.3%	26.3	0.75
Low Ability	12	58.3%	22.4	0.58
Confederate Worker				
High Ability	12	83.3%	31.3	0.50
Low Ability	12	83.3%	32.2	1.00

Univariate analyses revealed that blacks were helped more frequently (70.8% vs. 47.9%, $p < .02$) and were assisted with more pencils ($\bar{X}=28.1$ vs. 18.4, $p < .02$). In addition, in the multivariate analysis, the race x ability interaction approached statistical significance ($F(2,79)=2.93$, $p < .06$). For the analysis of the frequency of help, this interaction was significant ($F(1,80)=3.86$, $p < .05$). Similarly, for the frequency of help, a race x role interaction was obtained ($F(1,80)=3.86$, $p < .05$). These interactions suggest that subjects may have responded differently to the role of the partner and to the ability description of the partner based on the race of the confederate.

For subjects with the black partner, it was predicted that white subjects would help supervisors less than they would help subordinates. The analysis of the frequency of helping responses demonstrated, as expected a main effect for the confederate's role that approached statistical significance ($\chi^2(1)=3.63$, $p < .07$). As illustrated in Figure 1, black supervisors were helped less than black workers (58.3% vs. 83.3%). Similarly, subjects assisted black supervisors ($\bar{X}=24.4$ pencils) with fewer pencils than they did for black workers ($\bar{X}=31.8$), although this difference was not statistically reliable ($F(1,80)=1.64$, $p < .22$). Finally, there was no difference in subjects'

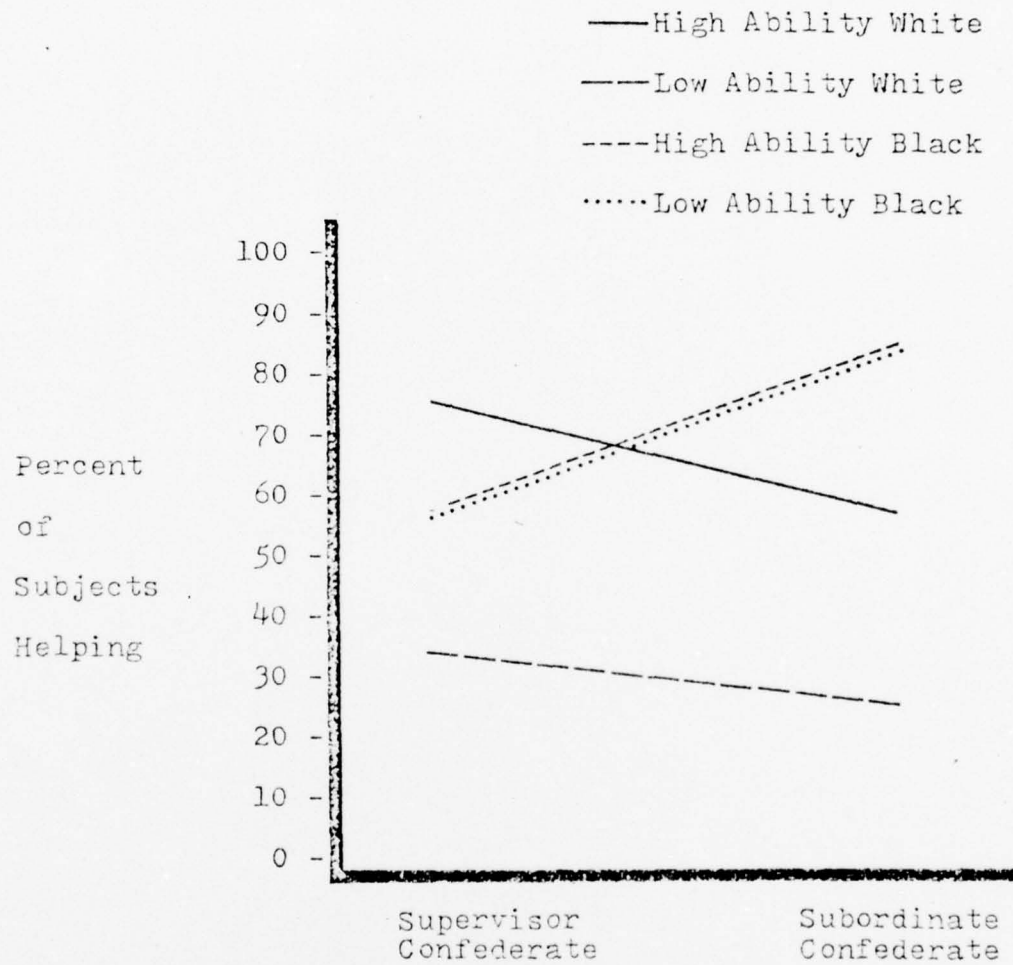


Figure 1. The percent of subjects helping black and white supervisors and subordinates of high and of low ability.

helping responses for high and low ability black partners (70.8% for each) nor any other main effects or interactions. It appears, then, that for subjects with black partners, the relative role relationship had the most influence on helping behavior. As expected, subjects responded more positively to blacks in a subordinate position than to blacks with superior status.

It was expected, in addition, that the pattern of helping responses due to the partner's designated role and described ability would be quite different for subjects with a white partner. In particular, a main effect for the description of the partner's ability was hypothesized, rather than a main effect for partner's role. High ability supervisors were predicted to be helped more than low ability supervisors; high ability workers were expected to receive more assistance than low ability workers. Indeed, the analysis of the frequency of helping responses for only those subjects with a white partner demonstrated that high ability partners were helped more often than low ability partners (66.7% vs. 29.2%, $\chi^2(1)=6.76$, $p<.01$). In addition, the analysis of the number of pencils corroborated this finding ($\bar{X}=24.5$ vs. 12.2, $F(1,80)=4.58$, $p<.05$). As illustrated in Figure 1, individual comparisons, employing a technique introduced by Langer and Abelson (1972),

demonstrated that, for subjects with white partners, supervisors of high ability were helped more often than supervisors of low ability (75% vs. 33%, $\underline{Z}=2.12$, $\underline{p}<.05$). In addition, workers of high ability tended to receive help more often than low ability subordinates (58.3% vs. 25%, $\underline{Z}=1.69$, $\underline{p}<.10$). Thus, this pattern of results contrasts, as predicted, with the results for subjects with the black partner.

The final set of predictions for subjects' helping responses concerned those subjects with "legitimate" supervisors and subordinates. Thus, analyses of simple effects were performed for subjects with high ability supervisors and low ability subordinates. The analysis of the frequency of helping responses revealed no significant effects for the race of the partner or for the prejudice score of the subject. As depicted in Figure 2, however, the predicted Race of Partner by Status of Partner interaction emerged ($\chi^2(1)=7.06$, $\underline{p}<.01$). Although black partners of superior status were helped slightly less than comparable whites (58.3% vs. 75.0%), low ability-subordinate blacks were helped more frequently than white workers (83.3% vs. 25%, $\chi^2(1)=6.04$, $\underline{p}<.02$). Furthermore, this interaction was supported by the analysis of the number of pencils subjects assisted in gathering ($\underline{F}(1,80)=4.22$, $\underline{p}<.05$). It appears,

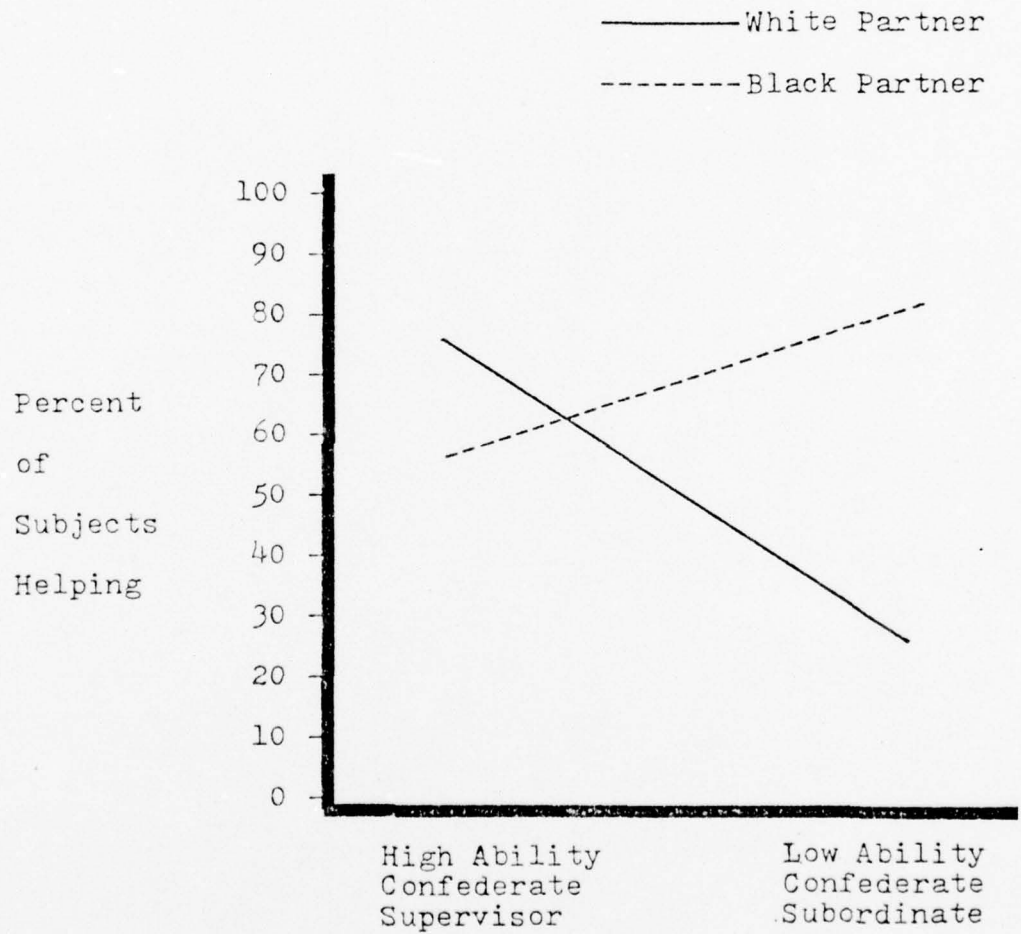


Figure 2. The percent of subjects helping black and white partners in the ability-role consistent conditions.

then, that subjects did respond relatively more favorably to blacks when interacting in a manner consistent with stereotypic expectations.

Although no specific predictions were presented, subjects did not reliably discriminate in their helping responses between black and white low ability supervisors. Subjects, though, did help blacks in this position slightly more than whites (58.3% vs. 33.3%, $\chi^2(1)=0.67$, $p>.35$).

During the interview phase of the study, subjects were asked to volunteer additional time, without compensation, to participate with the same partner at a later date. Preliminary analyses revealed no systematic effects for the number of potential hours to volunteer (as determined from subjects' class schedules administered at the beginning of the semester) related to the subject's experimental condition. In addition, there was little correlation between the number of potential hours available and the number of hours actually volunteered ($r(94)=-.27$). Thus, differences in volunteering behavior cannot be attributed to differences in availability.

It was predicted that, since subjects could avoid future interaction with a black partner without threatening their self-image, subjects would volunteer less time

with black partners than with white partners. As expected, the 2 (Race of partner x2 (Role of Partner x2 (Relative ability of partner) x2 (Prejudice score of subject) analysis of variance on the number of hours volunteered did reveal a main effect for the race of the partner ($F(1,80)=4.05$, $p<.05$). In contrast to the findings for the helping measure, white subjects volunteered more hours when they were involved with a white partner ($\bar{X}=1.04$ hours) than with a black partner ($\bar{X}=0.71$ hours). Furthermore, as presented in Table 2, subjects volunteered the least amount of time with a high ability black or a black supervisor, those conditions which violated stereotypic expectations.

It appears likely, though, that the opportunity to help the partner pick up pencils and to volunteer additional time were not independent events. Indeed, the correlation between the number of pencils picked up and the number of hours volunteered was weak but statistically significant ($r(94)=.18$, $p<.05$). Closer inspection revealed that for subjects with a white partner this relationship was highly significant ($r(46)=.42$, $p<.01$), but for subjects with a black partner it was virtually non-existent ($r(46)=.01$, $p=.47$). These findings suggest that the act of helping may relate to subsequent behavior quite differently for subjects with the black and white partners.

For subjects with a white partner, the helping opportunity may operate as a "foot-in-the-door" (Freedman and Fraser, 1966). That is, performance of helping behavior may increase compliance with the subsequent request for volunteering to participate with the same partner. For subjects with the black victim, however, the helping interaction may function as a "token" interracial behavior. According to Dutton and Lennox (1974), the performance of a positive interracial behavior, providing the individual with an opportunity to demonstrate that he is an egalitarian, may result in a reduced need to comply with a subsequent request requiring interracial involvement.

In order to investigate this possible relationship, a 2 (Race of Partner) x 2 (Previous helper or non-helper) least squares analysis of variance was performed. For subjects with the white partner, consistent with Freedman and Fraser's (1966) findings, subjects who previously helped pick up pencils volunteered more hours than subjects who did not help their partner (\bar{X} 1.43 vs. 0.68 hours, $t(92)=3.38$, $p<.01$). These results, then, suggest a relationship between helping and subsequent volunteering with a white partner.

The analysis of variance also revealed a race by helper non-helper interaction ($F(1,92)$ 3.99, $p<.05$).

Consistent with Dutton and Lennox's (1974) formulation, previous helpers with the white partner volunteered more hours than previous helpers with a black partner ($\bar{X}=1.43$ vs. 0.74 , $t(92)=3.35$, $p<.01$. No difference for black ($\bar{X}=0.64$) and white ($\bar{X}=0.68$) partners were obtained when non-helpers were considered. Thus, this pattern of findings is entirely compatible with the notion that the performance of one positive interracial behavior may inhibit subsequent interracial interaction.

Although the race of the victim significantly affected helping and volunteering behavior, little empirical evidence was obtained indicating a systematic relationship between professed racial attitude, as measured on the 11-item scale, and interracial behavior. No statistically significant effects were associated with high and low prejudice for any of the analyses of variance performed on these measures. In addition, for subjects with black partners, no correlation between prejudice score and number of pencils assisted ($r(46)=-.09$, $p<.28$) or between prejudice score and hours volunteered ($r(46)=-.03$, $p<.44$) were obtained. These results fail to demonstrate a systematic relationship between racial attitude, as measured by a paper-and-pencil test, and subsequent interracial behavior.

Evaluations of the Partner

During the interview phase of the study, subjects who were to be in the supervisory positions were asked to assess on a seven-point scale what kind of worker they thought their partner would be and how cooperative they believed he would act on the subsequent tasks. Subjects in worker roles were similarly asked what kind of supervisor they thought their partner would be and how much power they anticipated he would attempt to exert. No significant differences associated with the race of the partner were obtained on any of these responses. White subject supervisors predicted that white and black workers would not perform differently ($\bar{X}=5.38$ vs. $-.88$, $F(1,40)=2.43$, $p=.13$) nor would they behave more or less cooperatively ($\bar{X}=5.67$ vs. 5.42 , $F(1,40)=0.56$, $p=.46$). Also, white subject workers anticipated that white and black supervisors would not differ in their effectiveness ($\bar{X}=4.54$ vs. 4.25 , $F(1,40)=0.71$, $p=.41$) and would not differently attempt to exert their influence ($\bar{X}=4.00$ vs. 3.96 , $F(1,40)=0.02$, $p=.90$). In addition, no main effects nor interactions involving the race of the partner were obtained on subjects' reports of how friendly they would be toward their partner in a year's time, if they were roommates. Subjects with white partners were not significantly different than subjects

with black partners in their friendliness ratings ($\bar{X}=4.98$ vs. 4.65).

Also, during the interview phase of the study, subjects were asked to rate their partner from unintelligent to intelligent on a six point semantic differential scale. A 2 (Race of partner) x2 (Role of partner) x2 (Ability of partner) x2 (Prejudice score of subject) analysis of variance failed to demonstrate a statistically significant effect due to race ($F(1,80)=2.31$, $p=.13$). White partners, though, did tend to be rated as more intelligent than black partners ($\bar{X}=4.08$ vs. 3.77). It is likely, however, that completing a semantic differential description of a partner, especially a black partner, may be a rather reactive measure when socially desirable responses are evident to the subject. Thus, such a direct and obvious measure may not be particularly sensitive to detecting differences due to race.

As an alternative measure of the subjects' impressions of their partners, a relative rating index was calculated simply by subtracting the self score on these items (obtained later in the session) from the partner's score. Thus, on an absolute scale a subject may describe a black as intelligent and thereby not appear to discriminate against blacks. However, on the relative scale, the

same subject may be reluctant to rate the same black as more intelligent than himself. That is, subjects may be quite unwilling to subordinate themselves to the black in any way.

Indeed, when a subsequent analysis was conducted on the relative rating of intelligence, the difference between the partner rating and the subsequent self-rating, a statistically significant race effect was obtained ($F(1,80)=4.84$, $p<.05$).

White partners, across all conditions, were rated as slightly less intelligent than the subject ($\bar{X}=0.29$) and significantly more intelligent than black partners ($\bar{X}=-0.85$). Thus, it appears that discrimination in the attribution of intelligence to black and white partners is most pronounced when subjects are required to make comparisons involving themselves.

In addition, factor analysis was performed on subjects' semantic differential ratings for 25 adjective pairs concerning their partner and their self-descriptions. These analyses yielded similar factor structures. For both sets of ratings, the most salient factor appeared to be related to Osgood, Suci, and Tannenbaum's (1957) evaluative dimension. Adjective pairs that loaded

primarily on this dimension included good-bad, reputable-disreputable, wise-foolish, trustworthy-untrustworthy, reliable-unreliable, trusting-untrusting, responsible-irresponsible, important-unimportant, and kind-cruel. A second factor emerged that was related to potency. Adjective pairs such as strong-weak, severe-lenient, tenacious-yielding, fast-slow, active-passive, and dominant-submissive were associated with this factor. Finally, a third factor which appeared to be somewhat related to an activity dimension was obtained, although this dimension was not as clearly interpretable as the first two. Based on the results of these factor analyses, evaluative, potency, and activity factor scores were computed for subject's partner and self-ratings.

Analyses concerning the evaluative semantic differential items yielded a pattern of results similar to the findings for the intelligence ratings, with regard to the race of the partner. Discrimination in positive evaluative responses occurred primarily in the ratings relative to subjects' self-ratings. Although a multivariate analysis of variance on the absolute partner ratings revealed no statistically significant race effect ($F(9,72)=1.27$, $p=.268$), the multivariate analysis of the relative ratings demonstrated a marginally significant main effect for race

(multivariate $F(9,72)=1.74$, $p=.095$). As illustrated in Table 3, on the relative evaluative ratings, white partners as compared to black partners were described as significantly more wise, trustworthy, reliable, and important, and tended to be rated as more reputable and responsible. On the absolute measure, a significant race effect was obtained only on the reputable, wise, and reliable items. The $2 \times 2 \times 2 \times 2$ analysis of variance on the evaluative factor score, though, did reveal that black partners were described less positively than were white partners on the direct measure ($\bar{X}=-0.23$) vs. $+0.23$, $F(180)=6.34$, $p=.013$) and on the relative measure $\bar{X}=-0.37$ vs. $+0.37$, $F(1,80)=13.54$, $p<.001$). Again, discrimination in the favorableness of subjects' descriptions was most pronounced when they were required to evaluate their black or white partner in relation to themselves. No systematic effects, however, were obtained for subjects' potency and activity ratings.

The pattern of responses obtained for subjects' evaluations contrasts with the pattern of subjects' helping responses. Subjects evaluated blacks less favorably than they did whites, and yet they helped blacks, across all conditions, more than they helped whites. It appears, then, that behaviorally discrimination may be quite

TABLE 3

Evaluative item ratings of black and white partners based on six-point semantic differential descriptions.

	<u>Absolute Rating</u>				<u>Relative Rating</u>		
	<u>White Partner</u>	<u>Black Partner</u>	<u>p<</u>		<u>White Partner</u>	<u>Black Partner</u>	<u>p<</u>
kind-cruel	4.65	4.65	.99		+0.13	-0.06	.29
reputable-disreputable	4.17	3.69	.02		-0.27	-0.69	.07
good-bad	4.52	4.44	.59		-0.08	-0.33	.20
wise-foolish	3.90	3.50	.02		-0.15	-0.71	.01
trustworthy-untrustworthy	4.23	3.94	.22		-0.23	-0.69	.05
reliable-unreliable	4.29	3.85	.02		-0.42	-1.13	.01
trusting-untrusting	4.35	4.29	.73		-0.42	-0.60	.36
responsible-irresponsible	3.40	3.25	.33		-0.33	-0.71	.08
important-unimportant	4.38	4.17	.29		-0.21	-0.71	.03

different to subjects than simply feeling negatively about blacks. When subjects are with a black partner in need, they may not want to appear prejudiced, although, in fact, they do have negative attitudes toward blacks.

It was hypothesized that when a subject is confronted with information that is inconsistent with stereotypic expectations, he will make cognitive and, if necessary, behavioral adjustments to restore balance. Consequently, in the present study, it was predicted that black partners introduced as being higher than the subject in cognitive ability would be evaluated less positively than would comparable whites due to the inconsistency with relevant stereotypes. Indeed, high ability white partners were described as slightly more intelligent than high ability black partners ($\bar{X}=4.58$ vs. 4.13 , $F(1,80)=2.48$, $p<.15$). For the relative rating of intelligence, white partners were described as significantly more intelligent ($\bar{X}=+0.33$ vs. -0.42 , $F(1,80)=4.302$, $p<.05$). In fact, the black partners described as being high in ability were described as being significantly less intelligent ($t(23)=2.10$, $p<.05$) than the white subjects who were described as average in cognitive ability (see Figure 3). High ability white partners, however, were accepted by subjects as being higher than themselves in intelligence ($t(23)=1.45$, $p<.16$).

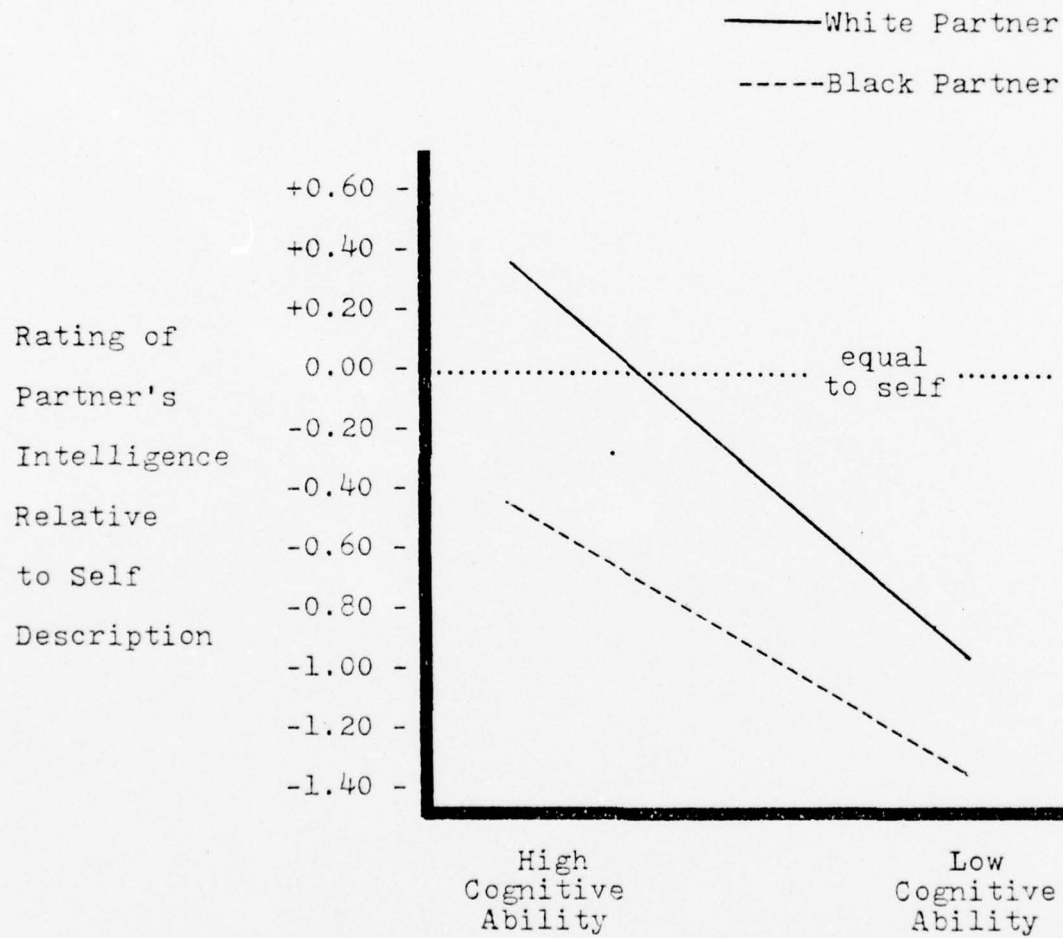


Figure 3. Subjects' ratings of their partner's intelligence relative to their self description.

Similarly, white subjects appeared to be reluctant to admit that a black was superior to them in positive characteristics, regardless of his ability. As depicted in Table 4, high ability white partners were not evaluated as being significantly different than the subject on any of the evaluative items. The black who was presented as being high in cognitive ability, though, was evaluated as being significantly less positive than the subject on the kind, wise, reliable, trusting, responsible, and important items, and somewhat less positive on the rest. In addition, the analysis of subjects' evaluative factor score description of their partner in relation to their self-rating indicated that high ability blacks were responded to less favorably than high ability whites ($\bar{X}=0.23$ vs. $+0.53$, $F(1,80)=6.93$, $p<.02$). It appears, then, that subjects were less willing to accept blacks than whites as being higher than themselves in an intellectual ability.

Nevertheless, for low cognitive ability partners, in which the subject was not threatened by the black partner's superior ability, subjects did not discriminate for black and white confederates in their direct intelligence ratings ($\bar{X}=3.42$ vs. 3.58) nor in their ratings relative to their own intelligence ($\bar{X}=1.29$ vs. -0.92). Based on the

TABLE 4

Evaluative item ratings of high cognitive ability black and white partners as compared to subjects' self ratings on a six-point semantic differential scale.

	<u>White Partner</u>				<u>Black Partner</u>		
	Rating of Partner	Rating of Self	t(23)		Rating of Partner	Rating of Self	t(23)
kind- cruel	4.71	4.58	+0.59		4.63	4.92	-2.07*
reputable- disreputable	4.38	4.46	-0.42		3.83	4.25	-1.45
good- bad	4.54	4.63	-0.57		4.50	4.75	-1.37
wise- foolish	4.25	4.13	+0.68		3.79	4.29	-2.22*
trustworthy- untrustworthy	4.13	4.38	-1.06		4.08	4.54	-1.85 ^m
reliable- unreliable	4.29	4.58	-1.50		3.83	5.00	-5.45**
trusting- untrusting	4.38	4.71	-1.88 ^m		4.29	4.83	-2.60*
responsible- irresponsible	4.33	4.63	-1.23		4.21	4.96	-3.42**
important- unimportant	3.92	4.08	-1.08		3.71	4.29	-2.70*

^m p<.10; * p<.05; ** p<.01

relative rating for the evaluative factor score, though, subjects did describe low ability blacks less favorably than low ability whites ($\bar{X}=-0.52$ vs $+0.72$, $F(1,80)=6.60$, $p<.05$)

As predicted, white subjects also appeared to react negatively to black supervisors. Based on the analysis of the relative evaluative factor score, subjects described the black supervisor less favorably than the white supervisor ($\bar{X}=0.45$ vs. $+0.48$, $F(1,80)=10.61$, $p<.01$). As illustrated in Figure 4, this difference was less pronounced for black and white subordinates ($\bar{X}=0.30$ vs. $+0.26$, $F(1,80)=3.79$, $p<.10$). Furthermore, these results indicate that black supervisors were evaluated less favorably than black workers, although the difference is not statistically reliable. For white partners, supervisors were rated somewhat higher than workers. This pattern was less pronounced when the direct evaluative score was employed as the dependent measure. Thus, these results are consistent with the notion that stereotypic expectations do mediate subjects' reactions to black and white supervisors and subordinates.

For subjects with white partners, the consistency between the partner's assigned role and described ability

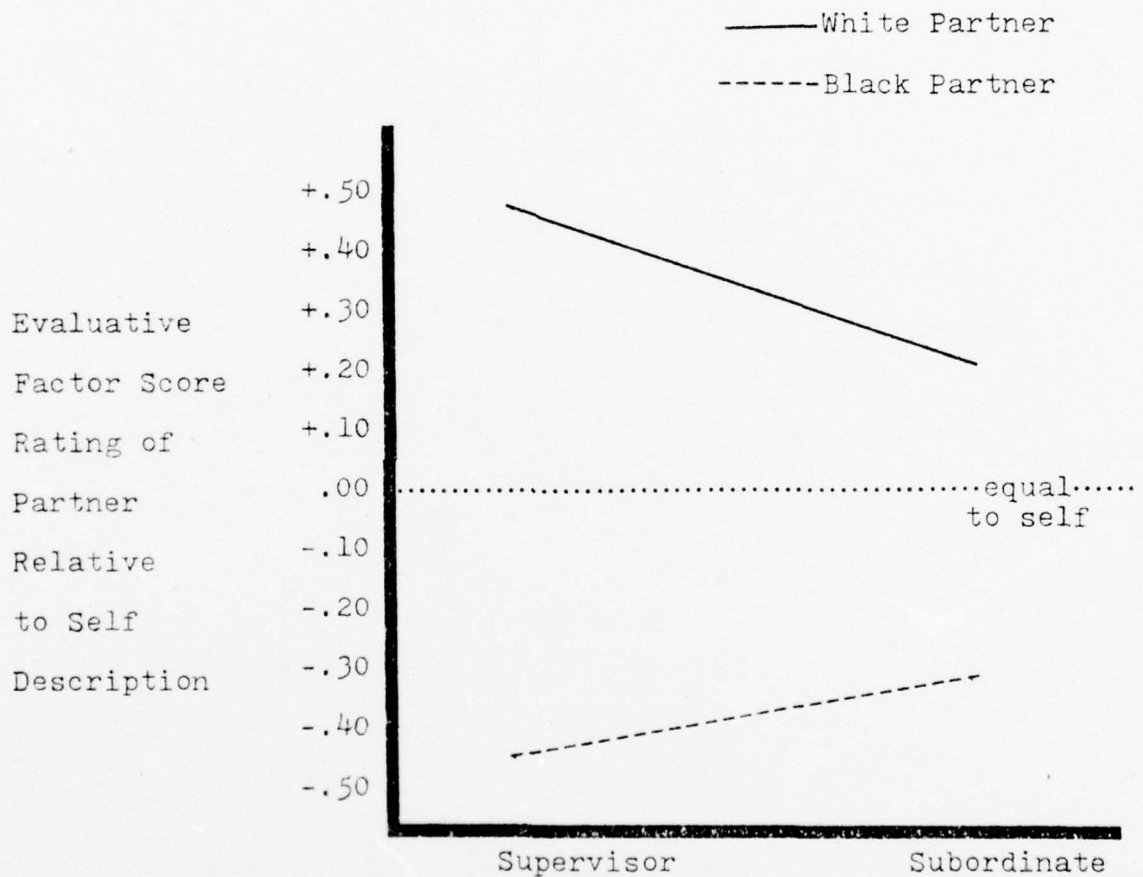


Figure 4. Evaluative factor score ratings of black and white supervisors and subordinates relative to subjects' self descriptions.

was hypothesized to be an important determinant of subject's reactions. Not only, as expected, did the main effect for ability occur on the helping measure, but subjects with the white confederates also evaluated high ability partners more positively than low ability partners based on the multivariate analysis of the evaluative items ($F(9,32)=2.31$, $p<.05$). However, no significant difference was obtained when other measures of evaluation were employed.

Finally, the third set of predictions concerned subjects' reactions to legitimate black and white supervisors and subordinates. Consequently, analyses of simple effects were conducted for only those subjects with high ability supervisors or low ability subordinates. In general, it was predicted that white subjects would respond negatively toward black supervisors even when they appear to have "earned" their status position. Although subjects helped high status blacks slightly less than high status whites, the results of subjects' semantic differential descriptions of their partners relative to themselves suggest that black superiors were responded to less favorably than were white superiors. Based on the relative intelligence ratings, subjects tended to describe high status blacks as less intelligent than high status whites

(\bar{X} =0.75 vs. +.17, $F(1,80)=3.21$, $p<.10$). However, subjects who interacted with low status blacks, within the stereotypic role relationship, evaluated their partners no differently in intelligence than did subjects with white workers (\bar{X} =1.25 vs. 1.17). In addition, high status black as compared to white supervisors were evaluated as less reliable ($p<.01$), less kind ($p<.05$), less reputable ($p<.05$), less responsible ($p<.10$), and as less important ($p<.10$). In the low threat condition, black and white workers were not evaluated differently on any of the evaluative items. Similarly, when an analysis of variance was performed on the relative evaluative factor score (see Figure 5.), the results also demonstrated that high status whites were described more favorably than comparable blacks (\bar{X} =+0.57 vs. -0.66, $F(1,80)=9.12$, $p<.01$). The difference for white and black partners was less pronounced with subordinates (\bar{X} =+0.04 vs. -.79, respectively, $F(1,80)=4.20$, $p<.05$). Furthermore, there was little difference in the favorableness of subjects' descriptions of superior and subordinate black partners (\bar{X} =-.66 vs. -.79). When the direct evaluation measures were employed, the pattern of results was similar but less pronounced. Based on subjects' descriptions, then, it appears that subjects did respond relatively negatively to black supervisors, even though they merited their position.

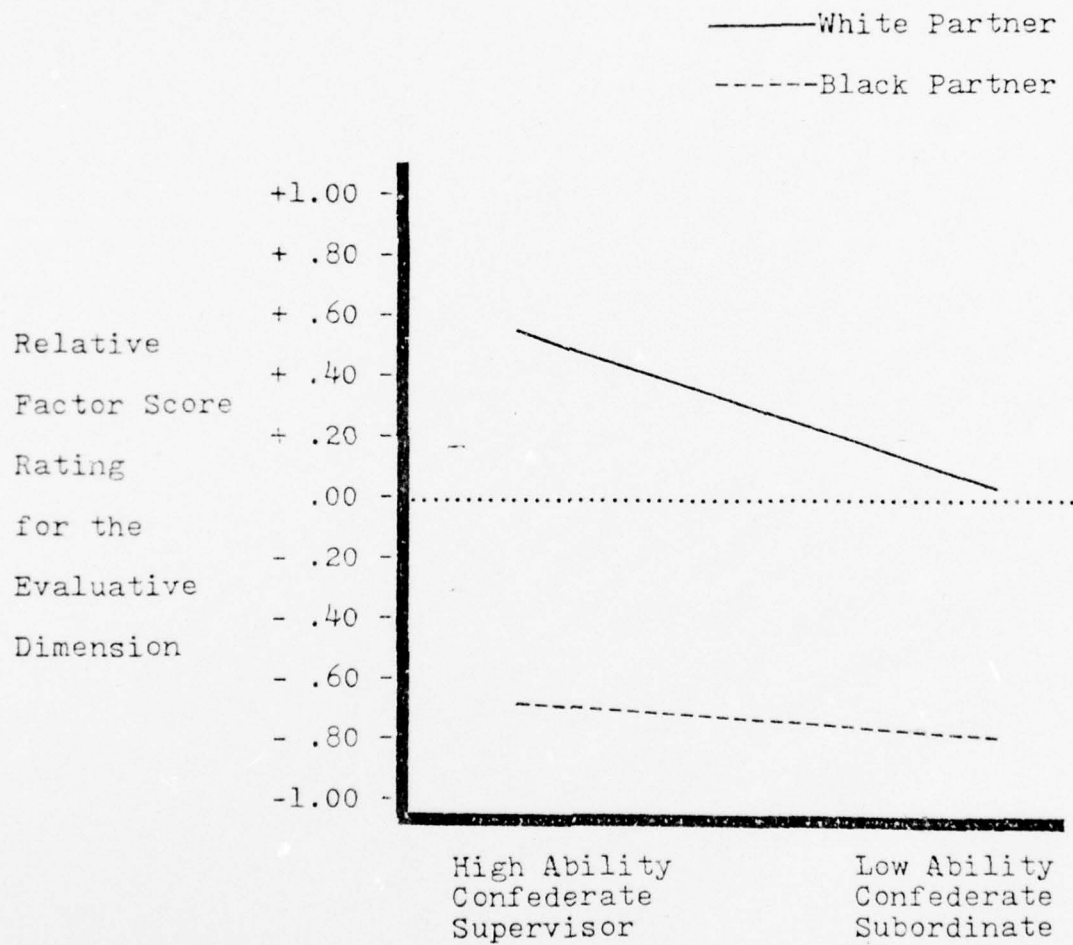


Figure 5. Subjects' relative factor score rating (partner minus self rating) on the evaluative dimension for black and white partners.

Although race appeared to systematically affect subjects' evaluations, no systematic effects for the subject's prejudice score were obtained for subject's description of their partner. Furthermore, although prejudice score correlated with subject's direct evaluative score for black partners ($r(46) = -.22$, $p = .063$), there was little correlation with the relative measure ($r(46) = -.12$, $p = .217$). In addition, for subjects with the white partners, the correlation between prejudice score and direct evaluation was comparable ($r(46) = -.25$, $p = .043$). These results indicate that subjects' self-professed racial attitudes were not a good predictor of their interracial responses.

DISCUSSION

The pattern of results for the measures of helping obtained for subjects participating with white partners was consistent with predictions derived from notions of cognitive consistency. Subjects did make behavioral responses in the direction of restoring "justice." Subjects exhibited more helping behavior toward their partner when the situation was to the advantage of the subject and to the disadvantage of the partner than when the distribution of roles and assigned abilities were consistent. Similarly, when the inequity of the situation disadvantaged the subject relative to the partner, individuals exhibited less altruistic behavior than when roles and abilities were compatible. These results are consistent with studies by Leventhal, Allen, and Kemelgor (1969), Long and Lerner (1974), and Pepitone (1971) that also indicated helping behavior may be adopted as a means of restoring equity. In each of these studies, however, inequity was operationally achieved by the distribution of monetary rewards that were consistent or inconsistent with demonstrated or achieved ability.

In the present study, imbalance concerned the correspondence between the assigned role and described ability of the partner.

Although the inconsistency between the partner's role and ability affected subjects' helping behavior, it did not affect their evaluations of the partner. There was no effect due to either factor for subjects' direct or relative evaluations of the white partner. Even when subjects who helped and individuals who did not help were analyzed separately, no effects related to inequity occurred. It appears, then, that subjects were responding to the inequity of the situation, rather than holding the partner responsible.

The analyses of the helping measures revealed that black partners received more help than white partners from white subjects. Although this finding appears surprising, it is consistent with the notion of aversive racism (Kovel, 1970). According to this idea, an important determinant of whether or not an individual will discriminate against blacks is the salience of the norms in the situation (Gaertner, 1976). In this study subjects were alone with the partner in need. Norms pertaining to helping were uniquely focused on the subject. Thus, it appears that many whites desire to avoid the attribution that failure to intervene is motivated by racial antipathy.

The designated role relationship was a critical factor influencing whites' reactions to black partners. In contrast to the pattern obtained with white partners, subjects were less willing to help black supervisors than black subordinates, regardless of the description of their ability. Based on this measure of prosocial involvement, whites appeared to behave negatively to blacks assuming a position superior to them.

In addition, discrimination against black supervisors in subjects' helping responses occurred even when the black partner apparently merited the role. An analysis of these individuals with higher ability supervisors and lower ability subordinates revealed that black partners of superior status were helped less than comparable white partners, while subordinate blacks received significantly more help than white workers. Thus, whites responded somewhat negatively to blacks who assumed non-traditional, superior roles, whereas whites responded positively to blacks assuming traditional subordinate and dependent roles.

If ability and a supervisory position are assumed to be socially desirable characteristics, then the results of the present study contrast with the findings of other studies investigating prejudice. For example, Taynor and Deaux (1973) found that females who behaved constructively in a civic emergency situation were evaluated more positively and more deserving of reward than were males behaving in an identical manner. Similarly, Katz, Cohen, and Glass (1975) found that whites contributed more money to blacks soliciting for a socially valued cause than to comparable whites. Based on these studies, high ability black supervisors would be expected to receive more help than high ability white supervisors.

This apparent contradiction may be resolved by considering a basic procedural difference. In both the Taynor and Deaux (1973) and the Katz et al. (1975) studies, the behavior of the stimulus person had few direct implications for the participants. The former study required only rating the person, and the latter study the contribution was the only opportunity for interaction. Indeed, a recent study by Hagen and Kahn (1975) indicates that the expectancy of continued interaction may be a critical mediating factor. They found that subjects who were simply asked to observe a confederate evaluated competent

females more highly than competent males. However, when they anticipated interaction, they were more likely to exclude the competent female from their group than the competent male. This result, then, is consistent with the findings of the present study in which subjects expected to interact with the partner on a series of subsequent tasks.

The results also indicate that the type of interaction was a factor influencing individuals' responses to their partner. In particular, the relative role relationship is a critical dimension. Subjects not only helped black subordinates more than they helped black supervisors, but also significantly more than they helped white low ability workers. Thus, subjects seemed to react negatively when the situation required them to subordinate themselves to a black, whereas they could accept a white in the superior position. However, they responded most favorably to a black in a subordinate role. Indeed, the findings indicate that even at the relatively abstract level of comparing oneself to another, white subjects were unwilling to subordinate themselves to a black. In general, white partners were willing to evaluate blacks, particularly high ability blacks, quite positively on an absolute scale. However, when the relative scores (partner-self scores) were

employed, black partners were rated less favorably than were white partners. In addition, although individuals would rate high ability white partners as more intelligent than themselves and describe them more favorably than themselves, they described high ability blacks as significantly lower in intelligence than themselves and unwilling to accept blacks as being their superior, or even their equal. Thus, stereotypic expectations may be a critical factor mediating subjects' reactions to interracial situations.

Indeed, many studies in the psychological literature document the idea that perception is not "veridical" and that an individual's expectations and motivation may influence the perception of a stimulus or an event (Bruner and Goodman, 1947; Bruner and Postman, 1949).

Recent evidence also suggests that systematic misperception also occurs for person perception. Duncan (1976), for example, found that a relatively ambiguous social incident, a shove, was perceived by white subjects as more violent and as more dispositionally related when the act was performed by a black than when done by a white. The present study indicates, in addition, that selective misperception consistent with the stereotype is not

limited to situations in which the stimulus is ambiguous. Although, in some conditions, subjects were informed that the confederate scored higher than him in abstract cognitive ability, they evaluated him as being less intelligent and described him less favorably than themselves. That is, subjects were willing to accept other whites as being more intelligent than themselves, but could not accept blacks as their intellectual superiors.

Furthermore, the effects of stereotypic expectations affected not only subjects' perceptions of the black partner but also their behavior toward him. When the role relationship violated traditional black-white role expectations, subjects initiated less prosocial interaction. Thus, these results suggest that even if, due to Affirmative Action or other social programs, deserving and qualified blacks are placed in positions of authority they will be initially resisted, and in addition, their performance will be evaluated less favorably by white subordinates. And yet, interaction with blacks who are in a subordinate and dependent role will serve only to reinforce the stereotypic role expectations of many whites. Therefore, if integration is to be initiated, efforts should be made to minimize the perceived threat to the white population. In addition, if integration in the classroom is adopted, the results of the present study suggest that, if racial conflict is to be

minimized, it should be implemented at the very early grades, when stereotypes are the least rigid.

One rather interesting result of the present investigation resides in the finding that although the race of the partner had a significant effect on subjects' responses, it did not affect all behaviors in the same way. The intercorrelations among subjects' helping behavior, volunteering additional time, and evaluation of the partner were generally low and often negative. For example, although subjects who helped the white partner also tended to volunteer more time than subjects who did not help, this relationship tended to be different for subjects with a black partner. In general, subjects who helped volunteered fewer hours when the partner was black than when the partner was white, whereas, there was no difference in volunteering time due to race for subjects who did not help. This finding may represent tokenism (Dutton and Lennox, 1974) in which helpers with the black partner had already reaffirmed their egalitarianism, and thus did not feel obligated to commit themselves to further interaction with the black. Alternatively, the different pattern of responses obtained for helping and volunteering responses may reflect different contextual demands. When the partner was in need of help, the subject was the unique

focus of norms pertaining to helping behavior. Thus, the subject could not justifiably avoid involvement with a black partner without appearing prejudiced. Nevertheless, since subjects were asked to volunteer additional time without any compensation, they could readily justify non-involvement.

Subjects' evaluations of their partner also contrasted with their helping behavior. Although high ability black supervisors were helped slightly less than comparable white partners and low ability subordinate blacks were helped significantly more than white workers, blacks were evaluated less favorably than whites in both situations. These results suggest that although whites may be willing to reinforce traditional role relationships with blacks, they may still feel negatively toward them.

Furthermore, although the race of the partner significantly affected individuals' helping behavior, volunteering behavior, and evaluations, the prejudice score had no relationship with subjects' responses. This result is particularly disturbing if subjects' prejudice scores are conceptualized only as a means of predicting subsequent behavior. Nevertheless, prejudice scale responses are also another type of overt behavior, like helping or volunteering behavior. Thus, the measurement situation

also possesses a unique set of contextual demands that were not present in the experimental situation. Furthermore, the 11-item prejudice questionnaire was designed to assess individual's attitudes toward blacks, but generalized feelings about a group as a whole do not necessarily have to correspond to behavior towards one member of the group in a particular situation. It appears, in addition, that attitudes toward blacks are not unidimensional, and that behavior toward blacks may be systematically related to blacks in that type of situation, for example, in subordinate or in superior roles. Clearly one problem with an approach that conceptualizes attitudes as multidimensional and behavior as a result of an interaction between one aspect of the attitude and the type of situation is that there is an infinite number of interracial situations in which individuals may find themselves. However, it is likely that, just as people are classified along a certain set of dimensions by personality theorists, interracial situations may be identified by a limited set of critical factors.

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APPENDIX A

Supplement to the Methods for
Subtlety of White Racism: Supervisors and Subordinates

BACKGROUND INFORMATION FORM

Name:

Residence (Permanent):

Head of Family's Occupation:

Please estimate your socioeconomic status:

1	2	3	4	5
lower class	lower middle class	middle class	upper middle class	upper class

Present academic major subject:

The "shortened" version of the abstract intelligence test:

DBII

I. For each of the following questions, write your answers in the appropriate space provided preceeding the question.

Section A-Synonym Test: Choose the word or phrase which is most nearly similar in meaning to the underlined word.

- ___ 1. filch a) hide b) swindle c) drop d)steal e) covet
- ___ 2. transmute a)remove b)change c)duplicate d)carry
- ___ 3. pedantic a)stilted b)odd c)footworn d)selfish
- ___ 4. expunge a)clarify b)copy c)delete d)underline

Section B-Antonym Test: Choose the word or phrase which is most nearly opposite in meaning to the underlined word.

- ___ 5. anathema a)benediction b)psalm c)verse d)lyric
- ___ 6. terse a)angry b)quiet c)verbose d)vindictive
- ___ 7. succor a) hinderance b)tart c)sweet d)drink
- ___ 8. craven a)black b)white c)noble d)indifferent

Section C-Analogy Test: Each of the two capitalized words below have a certain relationship to each other. Following are other pairs of words, each designated by a letter. Select the lettered pair of words which are related in the same way as the words in the capitalized pair are related to each other.

- | | |
|-----------------------------|--------------------------|
| ___ 9. CORRUGATED:STRIPED:: | ___ 11. OCTAVO:BINDING:: |
| (A) box : zebra | (A) pica:painting |
| (B) paint : crayon | (B) music:octave |
| (C) roughness : smoothness | (C) day:week |
| (D) pit : dot | (D) pamphlet:book |
| ___ 10. FOIL : FENCE :: | ___ 12. 20:21 :: |
| (A) pencil : pen | (A) 5 : 10 |
| (B) candle : heat | (B) A : B |
| (C) train : travel | (C) 10 : 9 |
| (D) sleep : bed | (D) S : V |

Form 107b: BACKGROUND INFORMATION

1. Age:
 2. Sex:
 3. How many brothers do you have?
 4. How many sisters do you have?
 5. Are you the oldest sibling in your family?
 6. Are you the youngest sibling in your family?
 7. Are you an only child?
 8. What is the difference in years between the oldest and youngest sibling in your family?
 9. Did you go to public or private high school?
 10. How many times did your family change residences during your lifetime?
 11. What are your career plans?
-
12. How well do you understand the basic procedures for this study?

1	2	3	4	5
not at all				very well
 13. How well do you understand the basic purposes of this study?

1	2	3	4	5
not at all				very well
 14. How many other studies have you been in this term?

none	one	two	three or more
------	-----	-----	---------------

Participation Receipt Form

I, _____, have participated in
the SUPER Study for one hour credit on _____.
Date

Signature

Using the following scales, please describe your
impressions of your partner:

- | | | |
|-------------------|--------------------------|---------------|
| 1. cruel | ___:___:___:___:___:___: | kind |
| 2. trustworthy | ___:___:___:___:___:___: | untrustworthy |
| 3. hard | ___:___:___:___:___:___: | soft |
| 4. cold | ___:___:___:___:___:___: | hot |
| 5. reputable | ___:___:___:___:___:___: | disreputable |
| 6. fast | ___:___:___:___:___:___: | slow |
| 7. weak | ___:___:___:___:___:___: | strong |
| 8. excitable | ___:___:___:___:___:___: | calm |
| 9. bad | ___:___:___:___:___:___: | good |
| 10. lenient | ___:___:___:___:___:___: | severe |
| 11. heavy | ___:___:___:___:___:___: | light |
| 12. submissive | ___:___:___:___:___:___: | dominant |
| 13. wise | ___:___:___:___:___:___: | foolish |
| 14. passive | ___:___:___:___:___:___: | active |
| 15. reliable | ___:___:___:___:___:___: | unreliable |
| 16. untrusting | ___:___:___:___:___:___: | trusting |
| 17. simple | ___:___:___:___:___:___: | complex |
| 18. careless | ___:___:___:___:___:___: | careful |
| 19. masculine | ___:___:___:___:___:___: | feminine |
| 20. successful | ___:___:___:___:___:___: | unsuccessful |
| 21. intelligent | ___:___:___:___:___:___: | unintelligent |
| 22. yielding | ___:___:___:___:___:___: | tenacious |
| 23. intentional | ___:___:___:___:___:___: | unintentional |
| 24. irresponsible | ___:___:___:___:___:___: | responsible |
| 25. important | ___:___:___:___:___:___: | unimportant |
| 26. ugly | ___:___:___:___:___:___: | beautiful |

Interview Procedure

I. Do the semantic differentials.

II. Explain the form fitting task.

1. You got a score of _____.
2. Compared to other people, how well do you feel that you did?
1-poor 2 3 4 5 6 7-excellent
3. How many forms do you think your partner did? _____
4. Compared to other people, how well do you think your partner did?
1-poor 2 3 4 5 6 7-excellent
5. Remember, your group will be performing a variety of tasks and your performance will be compared to all other groups differing in structure and composition. Suppose we ran 100 groups, overall, how many groups do you think you would do better than?

III. We are looking for some groups to participate longer, although we can't give any more credit. Would you volunteer to come back with the same partner and in the same set-up sometime next week?
(If the answer is yes, find out for how many hours and have the subject fill out a form with his available times.)

IV. If the subject is the supervisor:

1. What kind of worker do you think your partner will be?
1-very poor 2 3 4 5 6 7-very good
2. How cooperative do you think your partner will be?
1-not at all 2 3 4 5 6 7-very much

If the subject is the worker:

1. What kind of supervisor do you think your partner will be?
1-very poor 2 3 4 5 6 7-good
2. How much power do you think your partner will exert?
1-none 2 3 4 5 6 7-very much

Interview Procedure (cont.)

V. O. K. We're about done with the questions. Before we begin with the group activities there will be a slight delay while we set everything up. Would you rather wait here by yourself or go back in the other room and wait with your partner (or no preference)?

VI. Since I don't have the scheduling information with me, I'll need a little more information from you. Did you score in the top, middle, or bottom third in the abstract cognitive ability test? How did your partner score?

How accurately do you think the abstract cognitive ability test is for assessing intelligence in general?

1-not at all 2 3 4 5 6 7-very accurate

VII. Debriefing

1. How well do you understand what you'll be doing?
2. Briefly describe the procedure?
3. Is there anything unusual about the way the study was run?
4. What would you say if I told you that you had nothing more to do, but you would still get credit for participating?
5. Debriefers' rating of subject's suspicion.
1-not at all 2 3 4 5 6 7-very

VIII. How do you feel about the division of labor?
In particular, what was your first reaction?

IX. Did you help?
Why or why not?

APPENDIX B

Supplement to the Results for

Subtlety of White Racism: Supervisors and Subordinates

Procedure for Evaluating Subjects' Fairness Ratings

Four judges, two males and two females, independently rated subjects' responses to the question, "How did you feel about the division of labor...In particular, what was your first reaction?" Raters were given a randomly organized deck of 3x5 inch index cards with the transposed responses. The judges (1) were not involved with the study in any other way, (2) were not informed about the details or the hypotheses of the study, and (3) were blind to the subject's experimental condition.

The rater was instructed to place each card in one of five ordered piles ranging from a definite statement of unfairness or unexpectedness (#1) to a definite statement of fairness or expectedness (#5). Statements that were neutral to the dimension of fairness or were irrelevant to that factor were to be placed in the middle location (#3). After completing the initial procedure, the judges were given the opportunity to sort through the piles a second time to make final modifications.

A matrix of interrater correlations is presented below:

	Male B	Female A	Female B
Male A	.860	.869	.379
Male B		.857	.876
Female A			.827

The effects of the partner's role, the partner's ability, and the partner's race on subjects' expressions of fairness (1=fair to 5=unfair) of the division of labor.

	N	Fairness Rating
Confederate Supervisor		
High Ability		
White Partner	12	2.40
Black Partner	12	1.90
Low Ability		
White Partner	12	2.77
Black Partner	12	2.50
Confederate Worker		
High Ability		
White Partner	12	3.48
Black Partner	12	3.75
Low Ability		
White Partner	12	2.58
Black Partner	12	1.83

2 x 2 x 2 x 2 Multivariate Analysis of the Frequency
of Help and the Number of Pencils Assisted in Picking Up.

Source	F(2,79)	D
Race of Partner (A)	2.915	.060
Role of Partner (B)	0.785	.460
Ability of Partner (C)	1.975	.146
Prejudice Score (D)	1.405	.251
A x B	2.163	.122
A x C	2.934	.059
A x D	0.122	.886
B x C	0.214	.808
B x D	0.592	.556
C x D	0.705	.498
A x B x C	0.540	.585
A x B x D	0.665	.517
A x C x D	1.478	.234
B x C x D	1.610	.206
A x B x C x D	1.241	.295

2 x 2 x 2 x 2 Analysis of the Frequency of Helping Responses.

Source	df	ms	F	p
Race of Partner (A)	1	1.260	5.76	.019
Role of Partner (B)	1	0.094	0.43	.515
Ability of Partner (C)	1	0.844	3.86	.053
Prejudice Score (D)	1	0.510	2.33	.131
A x B	1	0.844	3.86	.053
A x C	1	0.844	3.86	.053
A x D	1	0.010	0.05	.830
B x C	1	0.010	0.05	.830
B x D	1	0.260	1.19	.279
C x D	1	0.094	0.43	.515
A x B x C	1	0.010	0.05	.830
A x B x D	1	0.260	1.19	.279
A x C x D	1	0.510	2.33	.131
B x C x D	1	0.094	0.43	.515
A x B x C x D	1	0.010	0.05	.828
Error	80	0.219		

2 x 2 x 2 x 2 Analysis of the Number of Pencils the Subject Helped to Pick Up.

Source	df	ms	F	p
Race of Partner (A)	1	2252.34	5.65	.020
Role of Partner (B)	1	21.09	0.05	.819
Ability of Partner (C)	1	1155.09	2.90	.093
Prejudice Score (D)	1	1127.51	2.83	.097
A x B	1	994.59	2.50	.118
A x C	1	698.76	1.75	.189
A x D	1	0.84	0.01	.964
B x C	1	71.76	0.18	.673
B x D	1	388.01	0.97	.327
C x D	1	372.09	0.93	.337
A x B x C	1	10.01	0.03	.875
A x B x D	1	536.76	1.35	.249
A x C x D	1	518.01	1.30	.258
B x C x D	1	0.09	0.00	.988
A x B x C x D	1	49.59	0.12	.725
Error	80	398.42		

The Effects of Race of the Partner, the Role of the Partner, the Description of Cognitive Ability of the Partner, and the Prejudice Score of the Subject on Ratings of the Partner's Intelligence.

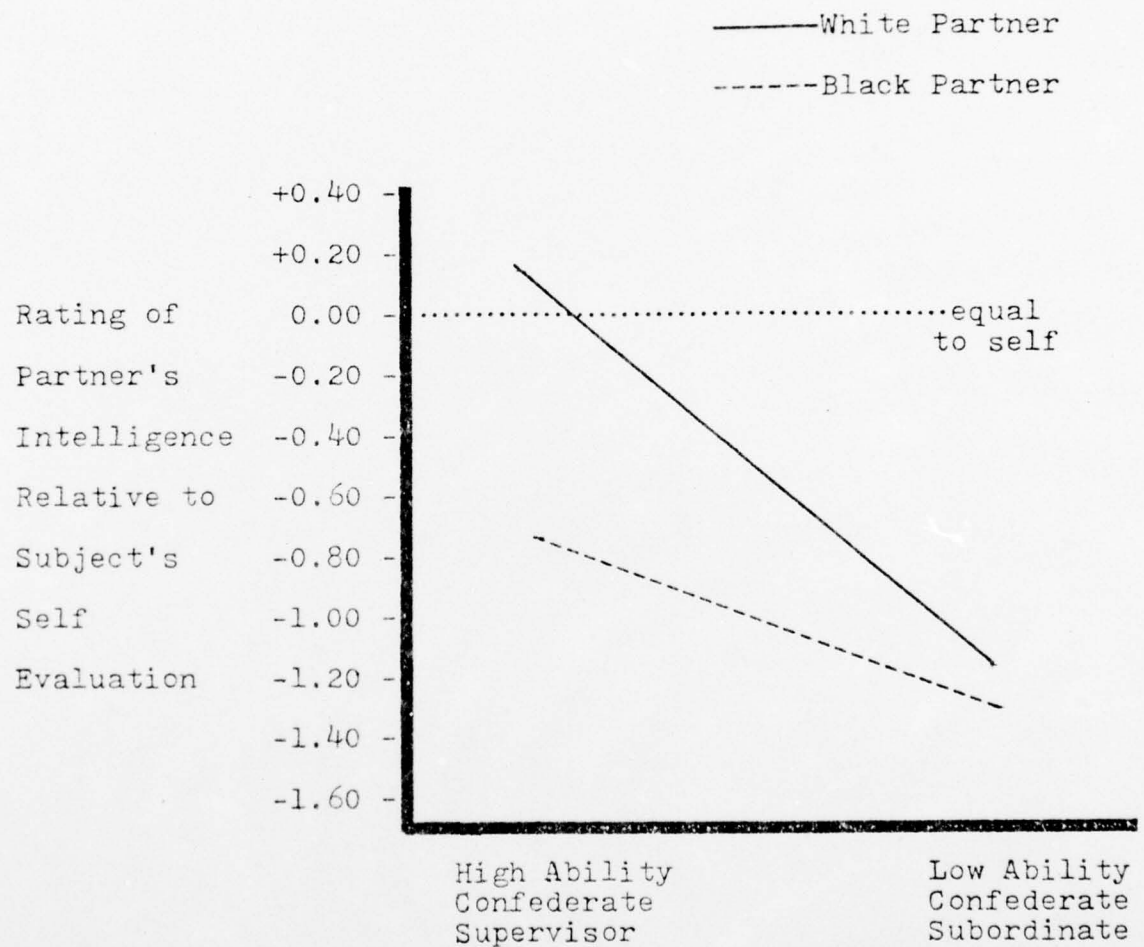
Source	df	ms	F	p
Race of Partner (A)	1	2.34	2.31	.133
Role of Partner (B)	1	0.84	0.83	.365
Ability of Partner (C)	1	17.51	17.26	.001
Prejudice Score (D)	1	1.26	1.24	.268
A x B	1	0.01	0.01	.919
A x C	1	0.51	0.50	.480
A x D	1	0.84	0.83	.364
B x C	1	1.76	1.74	.192
B x D	1	0.51	0.50	.480
C x D	1	0.01	0.01	.920
A x B x C	1	0.26	0.26	.614
A x B x D	1	0.26	0.26	.614
A x C x D	1	0.09	0.09	.762
B x C x D	1	0.84	0.83	.365
A x B x C x D	1	0.26	0.26	.613
Error	80	1.01		

Subjects' ratings of white and black supervisors and subordinates on six-point semantic differential scales.

	<u>White</u> <u>Super.</u>	<u>Black</u> <u>Super.</u>	<u>p</u> <		<u>White</u> <u>Worker</u>	<u>Black</u> <u>Worker</u>	<u>p</u> <
intelligent							
-unintelligent	4.42	3.83	.12		3.58	3.33	.60
kind							
-cruel	4.83	4.50	.21		4.50	4.83	.41
reputable							
-disreputable	4.25	3.33	.02		3.83	3.50	.36
good							
-bad	4.42	4.25	.54		4.50	4.33	.67
reliable							
-unreliable	4.17	3.67	.15		4.50	3.83	.16
trusting							
-untrusting	4.17	4.17	.99		4.42	4.58	.64
responsible							
-irresponsible	4.33	4.08	.55		4.25	4.08	.67
important							
-unimportant	4.08	3.41	.10		4.25	3.58	.20

Subjects' relative ratings (partner minus self) of white and black supervisors and subordinates.

	<u>White Super.</u>	<u>Black Super.</u>	<u>p<</u>		<u>White Worker</u>	<u>Black Worker</u>	<u>p<</u>
intelligent							
-unintelligent	+0.17	-0.75	.04	:	-1.17	-1.25	.90
kind							
-cruel	+0.33	-0.42	.03	:	0.00	+0.33	.33
reputable							
-disreputable	0.00	-1.00	.07	:	-0.67	-1.33	.10
good							
-bad	-0.08	-0.67	.13	:	-0.25	-0.58	.50
reliable							
-unreliable	-0.33	-1.41	.01	:	-0.58	-1.16	.16
trusting							
-untrusting	-0.42	-1.00	.16	:	-0.42	-0.42	.99
responsible							
-irresponsible	-0.33	-1.08	.13	:	-0.58	-0.75	.63
important							
-unimportant	-0.17	-1.00	.05	:	-0.33	-0.92	.33



Subjects' relative rating of intelligence
(partner minus self rating) for black and white partners.

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